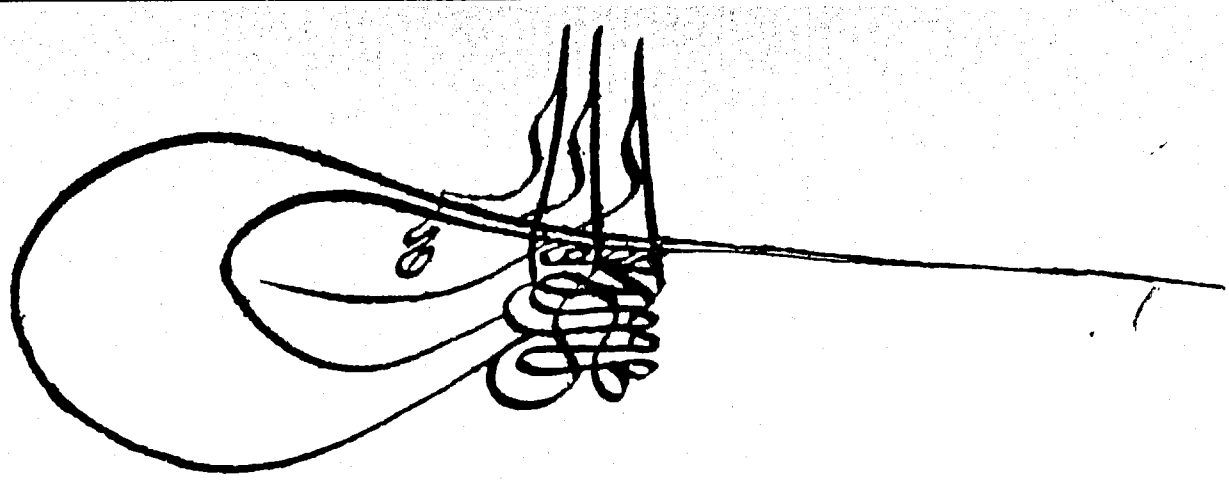


JOURNAL OF TURKISH STUDIES

TÜRKLÜK BİLGİSİ ARAŞTIRMALARI

VOLUME 4
1980

This volume of the Journal has been dedicated to the 80th birthday of Professor Annemarie VON GABAIN

Edited by
Yayınlayanlar

ŞİNASİ TEKİN • GÖNÜL ALPAY TEKİN

İÇİNDEKİLER . CONTENTS

İçindekiler	III
(A. v. Gabain's picture)	V
B. CHICHLO, A propos d'un personnage de la mytologie Altaïenne	1-7
F. CREEL, Abdullah Cevdet: A Father of Kemalism	9-26
R. DANKOFF, On Nature in Karakhanid Literature	27-32
E. ESİN, Altun-yış (The Golden Mountain) The Mountain with Metallic Elemental Appurtenance in Turkish Culture and Art of the Kök-türk Period	33-47
A. FISHER, Studies in Ottoman Slavery and Slave Trade, II: Manumission	49-56
A. J. JOKI, Die altaische Einwirkung auf die uralische Naturterminologie	57-60
E. MOERLOOSE, Sanskrit Loan Words in Uighur	61-78
T. OCAK, Nefî'nin Bilinmeyen Şiirleri	79-81
O. PRITSAK, Turkology and the Comparative Study of Altaic Languages: The System of the Old Turkic Runic Script	83-100
G. SHIMIN, Qädimqi uygurcä iptidayi drama piyesasi "Maitrisimit" (Hami nushasi)ning 2 - pärdäsi häqqidiqi tätqiqat	101-156
Ş. TEKİN, The Turkish Translation of Bedvü'l-Amâlî in Quatrains	157-206
M. F. WEIDLICH, The Status of the Word Домог in Modern Mongolian	207-209
Tenkit . Critica	
Dagmar DRÜLL, *Der Codex Cumanicus. Entstehung und Bedeutung* (O. Pritsak)	211-213
Klaus-Detlev WANNIG, *Der Dichter Karaca Oğlan. Studien zur türkischen Liebeslyrik* (Ş. Tekin)	214-215
Addenda et corrigenda (TUBA III, 1979)	216

* * *

Editors' Note

Six of the contributions in this volume (those of Chichlo, Dankoff, Esin, Joki, Moerloose, Weidlich) were originally read at the twenty-first meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference, which was held in June of 1978 in Manchester, England. John Andrew Boyle, who was the gracious and generous host at that conference, died in November of the same year.

TUBA, v/c. 4, 1980

SANSKRIT LOAN WORDS IN UIGHUR

Eddy Moerloose
(Rijksuniversiteit, Gent)

When the Turks began to control the northern branch of the silk-route, they started to show an increasing interest in Buddhist texts. At that time, different peoples, such as the Sakas in Khotan and the Tocharians in Kuca, had founded Buddhist schools in Central Asia. Besides Sanskrit, these peoples also used their own vernacular for the composition of canonical texts. No wonder that an important part of Uighur literature is devoted to the translation of Buddhist works from non-Altaic languages. That is the reason why so many loan words from different languages are to be found in these translations. For Western translators and editors great difficulties lie in the identification of Sanskrit loan words, because so many manuscripts are only fragmentary and do not offer the necessary context. The main problem, however, is that there exists no possible comparison, since the original Indian texts have disappeared. The transliteration of proper names and the rendering of philosophical or religious concepts, borrowed from neighbouring Indo-European cultures into a phonologically different language (Altaic language) and into a different writing (Uighur alphabet), caused far-reaching modifications. This is best illustrated by *Berliner Turfantexte*. Glossaries and commentaries reveal quite a lot of unanswered questions. For the frequency of Sanskrit loan words – mainly proper names – one can refer to the edition of W. Radloff's *Ṭišastvustik*[1] and G. Kara and P. Zieme's *Fragmente tantrischer Werke in uigurischer Übersetzung*.[2]

The aim of this paper is not to give an answer to a particular transcription problem. It merely suggests trends in the borrowing mechanisms and mentions the language and the people, through which Sanskrit loan words came into Uighur. An extensive list of examples supports each point.[3]

In 1910 A. von Staël-Holstein in his work *Bemerkungen zu den Brāhmīglossen des Ṭišastvustik-Manuscripts*[4] succeeded in identifying most of the Yakṣa-names as well as Indian place-names in the Turkish version of this sutra.[5] The identification was made possible because the Uighur script was glossed by Middle Indian in Brahmi writing. The writer was able to conclude that the Brahmi-names did not derive directly from Sanskrit, but were Middle Indian forms[6] of original Sanskrit words.

In their article *Maitrisimit und "Tocharisch"*[7] F. W. K. Müller and E. Sieg announced for the first time that many Indian technical terms came into Uighur via an adaptation from Tocharian.[8] In the *Alttürkische Grammatik* A. von Gabain concludes: "Indische Lehnwörter sind z.T. durch Mittels-Sprachen verändert worden; sie haben oft tocharische, sakische, parthische (?), sogische u.a. Umformungen erlitten. . . . Fremdwörter aus den iranischen Sprachen und aus dem Tocharischen beziehen sich gleichfalls auf den Buddhismus und auf den Manichäismus; sie sind weniger deformiert als die aus dem Sanskrit."[9]

At what time and through what languages were loan words introduced into Uighur?

In her article *Buddhistische Türkenmission*[10] A. von Gabain describes, in extenso, the political and cultural relations between the Turkish people and the peoples of Central and East Asia. Until the middle of the 6th century the T'u-küe have a religion of their own, based on the worship of Heaven, Earth, natural phenomena and ancestors. At that time the influence of foreign religions is almost non-existent, although some traces of Zervanism can be established. Chinese historical sources sporadically mention that Sogdian missionaries were trying to establish contact with the Turkish Qagan. In that period Chinese loan words,

viz.*burXan* "Buddha," *toyin* "monk" (Skt *bhikṣu*) and *buši* "alms" (Skt *bhikṣā*) appear in Turkish as well as in all later Uighur texts. Orkhon Turks must thus have known the founder of the doctrine and its adherents. Nevertheless they do not seem to have taken to the doctrine nor to the organization of the monastic community and its rules.

Sogdian monks[11] introduced other Buddhist loan words such as *nom* "doctrine" (Sogd. *nwm*, Skt *dharma*), *čaXšapat*[12] "moral commandment" (Sogd. *čXš 'pδ*, Skt *śikṣāpada*), *nizvani* "sin" (Sogd. *nyzβ'n*, Skt *kleśa* "defilement"), *upasi* and *upasanč* "lay disciple" (Sogd. *'wp'sy*, *'wp's'nč*, Skt *upāsaka*, *upāsikā*), *vrXar* "monastery" (Sogd. *βrγ'r*, Skt *vihāra*), etc. These words express general ideas and concepts, since Sogdian missionaries mostly preached monastic discipline. There are no traces to be found, neither of the detailed Indian cosmology nor of the elaborate scholastic systems as embodied in the metaphysical speculations of North Indian sects. On the other hand their belief is greatly influenced by Middle Iranian Manicheism and by the Zoroastrian revival.[13]

The oases of the northern branch of the silk-route underwent the influence of the Tocharians; an influence that proved lasting[14] and that is at the origin of the spread of Buddhism among the Uighurs of the region. Until the 8th century the people living in and ruling these oases were Indo-Europeans, speaking Tocharian dialects: Agnean (Tocharian A) in Turfan and Qarašahr and Kuchean (Tocharian B) in the Kučā region. Manuscripts in both dialects show the predominance of the hīnayānistic Sarvāstivāda-sect, which uses Sanskrit in its canonical works.

Tocharian adopts Skt loan words with few modifications. Tocharian declension is normally used, thus, nom.sg. ending of animate Skt masculine *a*-stems is *-e* in Toch.B and *-e* or *zero* in Toch.A.[15] In Turkish texts, written in Uig. script, these loan words have the ending *-i*[16] or *zero*. However, in Turkish Brahmi-texts, the ending *-e* frequently occurs. In loan words the phonemes *e* and *o* are transcribed *i* and *u* in Uighur script. It is possible that they were pronounced *e* and *o* by the Uighur speakers. However, in the following lists, the Uighur forms, written in Uighur script are orthographically transcribed, viz. *i/u* for *e/o*.

Brāhmī (Uig.)	Toch.A [B]	Skt
In Türkische Turfantexte VIII[17]		
Ājñāta kauṇḍinye	*(Ājñātakau)ṇḍiṇye*[18]	*Ājñātakauṇḍinya*
Träpuṣe	[*Träpuṣa-*	*Trapuṣa*
Balike	*-phallik·*][19]	*Bhallika*
In Ṭišastvustik (List of Yakṣa names)		
Khadale (Katali)		*Kapila* (?)
Gopale (Gupali)		*Gopala*
Citrisene (Čitrisini)	**Ci(tra)s(ene)*[20]	*Citrasena*
Tṛgaṇḍake (Tarkanataki)		*Trikaṇṭhaka*
Dharmanedhe (Trmaniti)		*Dharmanidhi* (?)
Dhṛdalome (Tartalumi)		*Dhṛtal/roman* (?)
Dhṛdiraṣṭhre (Trtiraštri)	*(Dh)ṛdhirāṣṭre,*[21] [*Dhṛtirāṣṭre*]	*Dhṛtarāṣṭra*

Mahiśvare (Makišvari)[22]	*Mahiśvar [Mahiśvare]*	*Maheśvara*
Virupakṣe (Virupakši)	*(Virū)pākṣe*	*Virūpāḳsa*
Vaiśravaṇe (Vaiširavani)[23]	*Vaišravaṃ, [Vaiśravaṇe]*	*Vaiśravaṇa*
Siṃhapāle (Sinkapali)		*Siṃhabala*

In the remaining Brāhmī-glosses the ending *-i*, *-a* as well as Prakṛit-ending *-o*[24] occurs. However, ending *-e* and *-i*[25] is predominant.

There is an exception to this rule, viz. a number of Skt names, which in Uig. appear without an ending. This points to Toch.A borrowing. G. S. Lane distinguishes two types of borrowing in Toch.A: "one, an older stratum, taken directly from Sanskrit at an earlier period in which the nom.sg. ending *-as* was simply dropped, and a later one, ending in *-e*, taken over from dialect B."[26]

To the Skt *a*-stems, denoting animate beings, correspond in Uig. ending *-i* or *zero*, in Toch.A *-e* or *zero* and in Toch.B *-e*. Therefore, when comparing Uig. names with Toch.A and Toch.B equivalents, there are three possible combinations of endings: Uig. *zero/-i/-i*, Toch.A *zero/zero/-e*, Toch.B *-e/-e/-e*. Following examples are listed according to Skt alphabet and mention first Skt, then Toch.A, Uig., Toch.B.

Toch.A *zero*,[27] Uig. *zero*, Toch.B *-e*

Ānanda	*Ānant/d*	*Anant/d*	*Ānande*
Kāśyapa	*Kāśyap, Kāśśap*	*Kašip*	*Kāśyape*
Gautama	*Gautam*	*Gautam*	*Gautame*
Nārāyaṇa	**Nārāyaṃ*	*Narayan*	—
Makara	*Mātār*	*Madar*	*Māt/dār*
Mahākāśyapa	**Mahākāśyap*	*Mahakašip*	*Mahākāśyape*
Maheśvara	*Mahiśvar*	*Makišvar*[28]	*Mahi/eśvare*
Maudgalyayaṇa	*Maudgalyāyaṃ*	*Mutklayin*[29]	*Maudgalyāyane*
Vaiśravaṇa	*Vaiśravaṃ*	*Vayširvan*[30]	*Vaiśravaṇe*
Śuddhodana	*Śuddhodaṃ*	*Šudutan*[31]	*Śuddhodane*

Toch.A *zero*, Uig. *-i*, Toch.B *-e*

Anāthapiṇḍika	*Anāthapiṇḍik*	*Anatapindiki*	*Anāthapiṇḍike*
Arjuna	*Ārjuṃ*	*Arčuni*	*Arjune*
Āṭavaka	**Āṭavik*	*Atavaki*	*Āṭavake*
Kāmeśvara	*Kāmeśvar*	*Kamišvari*	*-i/eśvare*
Bimbisāra	**Bimbasār*	*Bimbazari*	*Bimbasāre*
Śāriputra	*Śāriputträ*	*Šariputri*	*Śāriputre*

Toch.A -*e*, Uig. -*i*, Toch.B -*e*

Aṅgirāsa	*Aṅgirathe*	*Anggirasi*	*Aṅkīrase*
Aniruddha	*Aniruddhe*	*Anuruti*	= *A*
Āryacandra	*Āryacandre*	*Aryačintri*	*-candre*
Indra	*Indre*	*Intri*	= *A*
Upaśodhana	**Upaśodhane*	*Upašudani*	–
Kaniṣka	*Kaṇaṣke*	*Kaniški*	= *A*
Gardhabhaka	*Gardhabhake*	*Gardabi*	= *A*
Tamonuda	*Tamonute*	*Tamunuti*	*Tamonute*
Dhṛtarāṣṭra	*(Dh)ṛdhirāṣtre*	*Drtiraštri*	*Dhṛtirāṣṭre*
Pañcaśikha	**Pañcaśikhe*	*Pančaši̇ki*	*Pañcaśikhe*[32]
Pūraṇa	**Puraṇe*	*Purani*	–
Pūrṇaka	*Purṇake*	*Purnaki*	**[P]urnakke*
Pūrṇabhadra	*Purṇabhadre*	*Purnabtri*	*-bhadre*
Praṇāda	*Praṇāt/de*	*Pranati*	*Praṇāte*
Prabhaṃkara	*Prabhaṅkare*	*Prabangkari*	*Prabhaṅk/gare*
Brahmadatta	*Brahmadatte*	*BrXmadati*	= *A*
Bhadrika	*Bhadrike*	*Btriki*	–
Bhāgīratha	*Bhāgīrathe*	*Bagirati*	*(Bhāgīra)the*
Mahādeva	*Mahādeve*	*MaXadivi*	*-d/tew/ve*
Mahendra	*Mahendre*	*Makintari, MaXintri*	–
Mahendrasena	*Mahendrasene*	*Makintrasini*	= *A*
Māṇibhadra	**Māṇi(bhadre)*	*Manibtri*	*-bhadre*
Mātṛceṭa	*Mātṛceṭe*	*Matračiti*	–
Mogharāja	*M(o)gharāje*	*MuXrači*	–
Yaśodhara	*Yaśottare*	*Yašutari*	= *A*
Vāṣpa	*Pā(ṣpe)*	*Bašpi*	–
Vijitasena	*Vījītasene*	*Vičitasini*	–
Virūpākṣa	*(Virū)pākṣe*	*Virupakši*	–
Śodhana	**Śodhane*	*Šudani*	–
Saṃśaya	*(Saṃ)śaye*	*S(a)nšayi*	–

Saṃtuṣita	*Saṃtuṣite*	*Santušidi*	–
Sarvārthasiddha	*Sarvārthasiddhe*	*Sarvaartasidi*	= *A*
Siṃha	*Siṃhe*	*Sinki*	= *A*
Sujāta	*Sūjāte*	*Sučati*	*Sujāte*
Sudarśana	*Sudarśane*	*Sudaršani*	*Sudarśane*
Sumana	*Sumane*	*Sumani*	*Sumane*

Two names seem to be an exception to this rule. They show Uig. *-i*, Toch.A *-i*, Toch.B *-i* (?). It is possible that these original Skt *a*-stems were known as *i*-stems to the Central Asian peoples.

Krakucchanda	*Krakasundi*	*Krakasundi*	= *A*
Haimavata	*Haimavati*	*Ximavati*	–

No Toch.A equivalent is extant.

Aśoka	–	*Ašuki*	*Aśoke*
Akṣobhya	–	*Akšubi*	*Akṣobhe*
Kauṇḍinya	–	*Kaundini*	**Kauṇḍinye*
Kauśika	–	*Kaušiki*	*Kauśike*
Kṣemaṅkara	–	*Kšimangkari*	**Ksemaṅkare*
Jīvaka	–	*Čivaki*	*Jīvake*
Tiṣya	–	*Tiši*	*Tiṣye*
Dīpaṃkara	–	*Dipankari*	*Dīpaṅkar*
Vairocana	–	*Vairučani*	*Vairocane*
Sutasoma	–	*Sut/dasumi*	*Sutasome*
Sunetra	–	*Sunitri*	*Sunetre*

For the following Uighur names with ending *zero*, only Toch.B equivalents are extant.

Uruvilvākāśyapa	–	*Urubilvakašip*	*Urbilvakāśyape*
Chandaka	–	*Činak*	*Chandake*
Prajñārakṣita	–	*Prtanyarakšit*	*Prajñārakṣite*
Śīlasena	–	*Šilazin*	*-sene*
Saṃghadāsa	–	*Samgadas*[33]	*Saṅkatāse*

For some Uighur names with ending *zero* no Tocharian equivalents have been found so far.

Añjana	–	*Anačan*	–
Aryāvalokiteśvara	–	*Aryaavalukitišvar*[34]	–
Dharmadhana	–	*Tarmadan*	–
Māyikadharmadhana	–	*Mayak darmadan*	–
Rabnākara	–	*Ratnakar*	–
Ratnavajra	–	*Ratnavačir*	–
Śāṇavāsa	–	*Šanavaz*	–

For the appellative nouns, denoting classes of gods and demons, officials, etc., there are three possible combinations: Uig. *zero/-i/-i*, Toch.A *zero/zero/-e*, Toch.B *-e/-e/-e*.

Toch.A *zero*, Uig. *zero*, Toch.B *-e*

arhant	*ārānt*	*arXant*	*arhănte*
asura	**asur*	*asur*[35]	*āsure*
gandharva	**gandharv*	*gintir*[36]	*gandharve*
caṇḍāla	**cand/ṇḍāl*	*čantal*	**caṇḍāle*
purohita	*purohit*	*puruXit*[37]	*purohite*
pṛthagjana	*pṛthakcham*	*prtigčan*	**prathagjane*
preta	*pret*	*prit*	*prete*
bodhisattva	*bodhisattu*	*budhistv*	*bodhisatve*
brāhmaṇa	*brāmaṃ, prāmmaṃ, brāhmaṃ*	*braman*	*brāhmaṇe*
mahāsattva	–	*maXastv*	**mahāsatve*
rākṣasa	**rāksats*	*rakšas*	**răkṣatse*
śākya	*śākki*	*šaki*	**śākke*

Toch.A *zero*, Uig. *-i*, Toch.B *-e*

amanuṣya	**āmānuṣ*	*amanuži*	**amānuṣe*
upadhyāya	*upadhyā*	*upadyayi*	*upādhyāye*
kumbhāṇḍa	**kumpānt*	*kumbant/di*	**kumbhāṇḍe*
tīrthika	**tīrth*	*tirti*	*tīrthe*
nirgrantha	**nirgranth*	*nigranti*	**nigranthe*
naivāsika	**naivāsik*	*naivažiki*	–

parivrājaka	**parivrājak*	*parivrajaki*	*parivrājake*
bhūta	*bhūt*	*buti*	–
vaibhāṣika	*vaibhāṣik*	*vaibaẓiki*	**vaibhāṣike*

Toch.A *-e*, Uig. *-i*, and Toch.B *-e*

kiṃnara	*kinnare*	*kinari*	= *A*
pañcaka[38]	*pañcake*	*pančaki*	*pañcake (?)*
yogācāra	**yogācāre*	*yugačari*	= *A*

No Toch.A equivalent is extant.

kaṭapūtana	–	*katapudani*	**kaṭapūtane*
karmavācaka	–	*krmavažiki*	**karmavācaṃke*
pūtana	–	*putani*	**pūtane*
vaimānika	–	*vaymanuki*	**vaimānuke*

Skt *sārthavāha* and *vidyādhara* have both ending *-e* and *zero* in Toch.A,[39] viz. *sārthavāk* ~ **sārthavāhe* and *vidyādhar* ~ **vidyādhare*. In Uig. only the ending *-i* occurs, viz. *sartavaXi* and *vidyadari*. This corresponds to Toch.B *-e*, viz. **sārthavāhe* and *vidyadhāre*.

Names of animals in Uig. show ending *-i*. As a rule, there is ending *-e* in Toch.B (although this does not show in the examples quoted), as distinct from Toch.A *zero*.

kalaviṅka	*kalaviṅk*	*kalavangki*	–
khaḍga	–	*katki*	–
garuḍa	**karuṭ*	*karuti*	**garur*
mataṃga	–	*mātaṃghi (br.)*	–

That rule does not apply to:

ajagara	–	*ačakram*	*acakarm*

Two Skt adjectives show ending *-i* in Uig., *-e* in Toch.B and *zero* in Toch.A.

jātismara	**jātismar*	*čatismari*	*jātismāre*
bhadrakalpika	–	*bdraklpiki*	*bhadrakalpike*

Skt loan words in *-a*, denoting inanimate objects, viz. abstract notions, philosophical and technical terms, drop the ending in Uig. and Toch.AB.

akṣara	*akṣar*	*akšar*	*akṣār*

agada	*āgat*	*agat*	**āgat*
adhiṣṭhita	*adhiṣṭhit*	*adištit*	*= A*
antarakalpa	*antarakalp*	*antaraklp*	**antarakălp*
antarābhava	–	*antrabav*	*antarābhap, *-bhav*
apramāṇa	–	*apiramani*	**apramāṃ*
abhidharma	*abhidharm*	*abidarim*	*abhidhārm*
abhiprāya	**abhiprāy*	*abipiray, ābhiprāy (br.)*	*abhiprāy*
abhiṣeka	*abhiṣek*	*abišik*	*= A*
avadāna	*avatāṃ*	*avdan*	**ap/vadāṃ*
aśubha	*aśup*	*ašub*	*aśubh*
aśoka	*aśok*	*ažuk*	*= A*
asaṃkhyeya	*asaṃkhe*	*asanki*	*asaṃkhyai*
ākāśa	*ākāś*	*akaš*	*akāśe,[40] *akāś*
āgama	–	*agam*	*āgam*
ānantarya	–	*anantriš*	**anantārś,[41] *anandarś*
ābhāsvara	*ābhāswar*	*abasvar*	–
**āmbara (Hybrid)*	–	*ampar*	*āmpar*
āryamārga	**āryamārg*	*aryamarg*	**ăryamārg*
ālambana	*ālambaṃ*	*alamban*	*= A*
āsana	*āsāṃ*	*asan*	*asāṃ*
āsrava	**āsrap*	*asrav*	*= A*
indranīla	**indranil*	*int/diranil*	*indranīl*
indriya	*indri*	*intri*	*= A*
īryāpatha	**iryāpath*	*iryapat*	*= A*
utpala	*oppal*	*utpal*	*uppāl*
udumbara	**ūdūmpar*	*utumbar*	*udumbar*
upadeśa	*upadeś*	*upadiš*	**upadeś*
uṣṇīṣa	*uṣṇīr*	*ušnir*	*ūṣṇĭr*
karmapatha	*karmapath*	*krmaput*	*karmapath*
kalpa	**kalp*	*klp*	*kālp*

kāvya	*kāvvi*	*kavi*	= *A*
kumuda	–	*kumut*	**kumut*
kuśala	*kuśal*	*kušal*	= *A*
kušalamūla	**kūśalamūl*	*kušalamul*	= *A*
kūṭāgara	*kūrekār*	*kurikar*	*kwrakār*
kṣaṇa	*kṣaṃ*	*kšan*	*kṣaṃ*
kleśa	*kleś*	*kiliš*	= *A*
grantha	**granth*	*girant*	*granth, krānt*
graha	*grak, *grah*	*graX*	**grāk, *grah*
cakra	*cākkär*	*čakr, čkir*	= *A*
caṅkramita	–	*čankirmit, čankramit*	*caṅ/ṃkramit*
candana	**candaṃ*	*čintan*	*candāṃ*
jātaka	*jātak*	*čatik*	= *A*
jāmbūnada	*jambunāt*	*čambunat*	–
triśula	*triśul*	*t/držul, trižul*	**triśul*
darśanamārga	–	*taršanamarg*	*darśanamārk*
deśita	*deśit*	*tižit*	*t/deśit*
dravya	–	*dravi*	*dravyi*
dharma	**dharm*	*tarm*	*dharäm*
dharmacakra	*dharmacākkär*	*darmačakir*	= *A*
dhūtaguṇa	*dhutakul*	*dutagun*	*dhutaguṇ/ṃ*
dhyāna	*dhyāṃ*	*dyan*	= *A*
nayuta	**naytu-*	*nayut*	–
nāgapuṣpa	*nāgapuṣp*	*nagapušp*	–
nirvāṇa	*nervāṃ*	*nirvan*	= *A*
nīlotpala	–	*nilutpal*	*nīlutpāl, nīlotpāl*
nyagrodha	*nyagrot*	*nyagrut*	*nyagrut*
pañcavarṣika	–	*pančvaršik*	**pañcwarṣik*
pattra	*patrak*	*ptr*	–
padma	–	*padum*	*padum*
parimaṇḍala	*parimaṇḍal*	*paramantal*	–

pariyāṇa	*paryāṃ*	*pryan*	*paryǎṃ*
parivāra	**parivār*	*parivar*	–
pādaka	**padak*	*pdak*	**pādak*
pārijāta	*parijātträ*	*paričatr*	–
pratītyasamutpāda	**pratītyasamutpād*	*pratityasamutpat*	*pratītyasamutpāt*
piṇḍapāta	*pintwāt*	*pinvat*	*= A*
phāṇita	–	*panit*	*pan/ñit*
brahmasvara	*brahmasvar*	*brXmasvar*	*= A*
bhadrakalpa	*bhadrakalp*	*btraklp*	**bhadrakalp*
bhavāgra	–	*bavagir, bhavāgrä (br.)*	*bhavāggär*
bhindipāla	**bhiṇḍipāl*	*bintipal*	–
mangala	*maṅkal*	*mankal*	*maṅkāl*
mañcaka	**mañck-*	*mančak*	*mañcāk*
maṇḍala	*maṇḍal*	*mant/dal*	**maṇḍāl*
mandāraka	**mantārak*	*mantarak*	–
mahākalpa	*mahākalp*	*mXaklp*	–
mahābhūta	–	*mahabut*	*mahābhūt*
yojana	*yojaṃ*	*yučan*	–
rasāyana	**rasāyaṃ*	*rasayan*	–
rājāvarta	–	*ražvrt*	*rājawat*
lakṣaṇa	*lakṣaṃ*	*lakšan*	*lakṣāṃ*
layana	*leṃ*	*lin*	*= A*
vajra	*v/wājär, waśir*	*vžir, včir*	*v/wājär*
vajrāsana	**vajrāsāṃ*	*včrazan*	**vajrāsaṃ*
vajropama	**vajropam*	*včraupam*	*vajropame-*
vinaya	*vine*	*vinay*	*winai*
vimāna	*wimāṃ*	*vimam*	*= A*
viṣaya	*viṣay, viṣey*	*viṣay*	*w/viṣai*
veda	**ved*	*vid*	**ved*
vaiḍūrya	**vaiḍ/tur(i)*	*vait/duri*	**vairuri, *vairuḍi*
vairāga	–	*vairag*	*vairāk*

vaiśeṣika	*vaiśeṣik*	*vaišašiki*	**vaiś(e)ṣike*
vyākaraṇa	—	*viyakaran*	**vyākaraṃ*
vyākhyāna	—	*viyakiyan*	*vyākhyāṃ*
śarīra	**śarir*	*šarir*	*śarīr*
śāla	*śāl*	*šal*	*= A*
śāsana	*śāsaṃ*	*šaza/in*	*śāsaṃ*
śāstra	*śāstär*	*šastr*	*= A*
śloka	*šlok, ṣlyok*	*šluk*	*ślok*
saṃvara	**saṃv/war*	*sanvar*	*saṃvar*
saṃsāra	*saṃsār*	*sansar*	*= A*
saṃgha	*saṅk*	*sang*	*sāṅk*
saṃghārāma	*saṅk/grām*	*sangaram*	*saṅkrām, *saṃghārām*
sarvapāṣāṇḍika	*sarvapāṣāṇḍik*	*pašantak*	—
sāṃkhya	—	*sanki*	**sāṃkhye*
sūtra	*sŭtär*	*sudur*	*= A*
sphaṭika	—	*sparir*	*spharir*
srotāpanna	—	*surtapan*	**srotapan*
svayaṃvara	*svayampār*	*svayampar*	**svayampar*
halāhala	*anahāl*	*anaXal*	*halahāl*

To Skt names with feminine ending *-a*, denoting animate beings, correspond in Uig. ending *-a* or *-i*,[42] in Toch.A *-a* and in Toch.B *-a*.

Bhadrā	*Bhādrā*	*Batra*	*Bhādra*
Mahāmāyā	**Mahāmāyā*	*MaXamaya*	*Mahāmāya*
Sītā	**Sisā*	*Sita*	**Sīta, Sisa*
Subhadrā	*Subhādrā*	*Subatra*	—
Mālīkā	*Māl(y)īkā*	*Maliki*	*Mālika*

Skt loan words in *-a*, denoting inanimate objects, drop the ending in Uig. and Toch.AB.

anityatā	*anityāt*	*anityat*	*= A*
upasaṃpadā	*wasämpāt*	*vzampat*	*wasampāt*
gaṅgāvālukā	—	*ganggavaluk*	*gaṅgavāluk*

pāramitā	**pāramit*	*paramit*	*= A*
vibhāṣā	*vaibhāṣ*	*vaibaš*	*vibhāṣ*
sīmā	*sim*	*sim*	*sim*

As to the other Skt vowel-stems, the vowel-ending is kept in Uig. and Toch.AB. Thus Skt *-i, -ī/-u, -ū*, Uig. and Toch.AB *-i/-u*.

ānāpānasmṛti	**ānāpānasmṛti*	*anapanasimarti*	*= A*
Utpatti	–	*Utpati*	*utpatti*
Upāli	–	*Upali*	**Upāli*
ṛddhi	**räddhi*	*riti*	*raddhi*
Kanakamuni	*Kanakamuni*	*Kanakamuni*	*(Kana)kamuni*
kṣānti	*kṣānti*	*kšanti*	*= A*
cintāmaṇi	*cintāmaṇi*	*čintamani*	*= A*
Devarṣi	**Devarṣi*	*Tiva ärži*	–
Padmāvatī	*Padmāvati*	*Patmavati*	–
Bādhari	*Bādhari*	*Bada/iri*	–
bodhi	*bodhi*	*budi*	–
Brahmāvatī	*Brahmāvati*	*BrXmavati*	–
Yaśovati	*Yaśovati*	*Yašuvati*	–
yukti	–	*yukti*	*yukti*
Rohiṇī	**Rohiṇi*	*Urukini*	**rohiṇi*[43]
Vajrapāṇi	*Vajrapāṇi*	*Včirapani*[44]	*= A*
Sacī	*Saci*	*Sači*	*= A*
saṃghāṭi	*saṃghāṭi*	*sanggadi*	*= A*
Śākyamuni	*Śākyamuni*	*Šakimuni*[45]	*= A*
Sātāgiri	*Sātāgiri*	*Satagiri*	–
Sundarī	*Sundari*	*Sund/tari*	*= A*
Sumati	–	*Sumati*	*Sumati*
Ajātaśatru	*Ajātaśatru*	*Ačataštru*	*= A*
kāmadhātu	**kāmadhātu*	*kamadatu*	*= A*
devadāru	–	*divdar*	*devadāru*
paramāṇu	*paramāṇ/nu*[46]	*parmanu*	*= A*
Rāhu	*Rāhū*	*RaXu*	*Rāhu*

rūpadhātu	–	*urupadatu*	*rūpadhātu*
lokadhātu	**lokadhātu*	*lukatadu*	= *A*
Viśvabhū	*Viśvabhū*	*Višvabu*	= *A*
Viṣṇu	*Viṣṇu*	*Višnu*	= *A*
sādhu	*sādhu*	*sadu*	–

Skt word *maitrī* follows this rule in Uig. *maitri* but not in Toch.A *maitär*, Toch.B *mait(t)är*.

In one case the ending is dropped in Uig. and Toch.AB.

vyākṛti	*vyākarit*	*viyakrit*	= *A*

Final ending is Uig *zero*, Toch.A *-i*, Toch.B *zero*.

koṭi	*kor*	*kulti*	**koṭ, *kor*

As far as Skt consonant stems are concerned, Skt *in*-stems are considered as *i*-stems in Uig. and Toch.AB. The other consonant stems lose their final consonant.

Arthadarśin	*Arthadarśi*	*Artadrši*	= *A*
cakravartin	*cakravart(t)i*	*čkravarti*[47]	*cakravārt(t)i, cakravārt*
Ratnaśikhin	*Ratnaśikhi*	*Ratnašiki*	= *A*
Vipaśyin	*Vipaśyi*	*Vipaši*	*Vipaśyi*
Śikhin	*Śikhī*	*Šiki*	= *A*
śreṣṭhin	*śre/iṣṭhi*	*širišti*	*śreṣṭhi*
Hitaiṣin	*Hitaiṣi*	*Hitaiši*	= *A*
apsaras	*apsari*	*aptsar*	= *A*
trāyastriṃśat	*tāpātriś*	*straystriš*	*tāpattriś*
Prasenajit	*Prasenaji*	*Prasenaji (br.), Pirsanči*	= *A*
Brahmāyus	*Brahmāyu*	*BraXmayu*	–

Original geographical and cosmological Skt names with ending *-a* appear with ending *zero* in Uig. and Toch.AB. The same occasionally happens with Skt *i* and *u*-stems.

Akaniṣṭhabhavana	*Aghaniṣṭabhav*	*Akaništabavan*	–
Avīci	*Aviš*	*Aviš*	= *A*
Udaya	*Udai*	*Uday*	= *A*
Ṛṣipatana	*Ṛṣivadaṃ*	*Iršividan*	–

Kapilavastu	*Kapilavāstu*	*Kapilavastu*	*= A*
Kukkuṭapāda	*Kukkuṭapāt*	*Kukutapat*	–
Ketumati	*Ketumati*	*Kitumati*	–
Kailāsa	*Kailāk*	*Kalyas*	–
Gaṅgā	*Gāṅk*	*Gank*	*= A*
Gṛdhrakūṭa	–	*Grdakul*[48]	*Gṛdhrakūl*
Jambudvīpa	*Jambudvip*	*Čambudivip*	*= A*
Jetavana	*Jetavaṃ*	*Čitavan*	*= A*
Tuṣita	*Tu/oṣit*	*Tuš/žit*	*Tuṣit*
Dakṣiṇāpatha	*Dakṣiṇāpath*	*Dakšinapat*	*Dakṣināpat*
Nairañjanā	–	*Narayančan*	**Nairañjaṃ*
Pāṭaliputra	–	*Pataliputur*	*Pāṭali[p](u)-*
Pratāpana	*Pratāpan*	*Pratapan*	–
Brahmaloka	*Brahmalok*	*BraXmaluk*	*= A*
Magadha	**Māgat*	*Magat*	*Māgat*
Madhyadeśa	**Madhyadeś*	*Madyadiš*	–
Mahāraurava	*Ma(hā)raurāp*	*MaXaraurap*	–
Rājagṛha	**Rājagri*	*RačagrX, Račagri*	*Rājagri*
Raurava	*Raurāp*	*Raurap*	–
Vārāṇāsī	**Bārāṇasi*	*Baranas*	*Bārāṇasi*
Vipula	*Vipul*	*Vipul*	–
Veṇuvana	–	*Vinuvan*	**Veṇuvaṃ*
Vaiśālī	–	*Vaišali*	*Vaiśāli*
Vaijayanta	*Vaijayaṃt*	*Vaičayant*	*= A*
Śuddhavāsa	*Śuddhavās*	*Šudavas*	–
Śrāvastī	*Śrāvasti*	*Šravst*	*= A*
Saṃghāta	*Saṅghāt*	*Sangat*	–
Samjīva	*Sañ/ṃjip, Saṃjiw*	*Sančiv*	–
Samantapuṣpa	*Samantapuṣp*	*Samantapušp*	–
Siṃhaladvīpa	–	*SinXadvip*	**Siṃhaḍadvīp*
Sindhu	*Sindhu*	*Sintu*	–

Supuṣpita	*Supuṣpit*	*Supušpit*	–
Sumeru	*Sumir*	*Sumir*	= *A*

In regard to Sanskrit loan words, there is a distinct lexical relation between Uighur and Tocharian. Tocharian Buddhists belonged to the Sarvāstivāda-sect. They possessed a Sanskrit canon. Therefore, the loan words they adopted came directly from Hybrid Sanskrit. Later on, as the Uighurs settled in the monasteries of the northern branch of the silk-route, they made use of Tocharian scriptures in order to write their own canon.[49] In the monasteries oral teaching was very important. Most probably the Tocharian speaking teachers of the Uighurs adapted the pronunciation of Sanskrit loan words to the local pronunciation. Consequently, Tocharian influence is predominant in the adoption of Sanskrit loan words. However, there are proper names and appellative nouns (Skt *a*-stems) corresponding to the Tocharian A words of the *older stratum* that have ending *zero* in Uighur. This borrowing from Tocharian A may be due to the fact that Turks and Tocharians were geographically very close at that moment.

However, G. S. Lane's theory[50] seems more plausible. According to him, Tocharian A was already a dead language at that time. It was only used as a liturgical or "church"-language; it was held in higher esteem than the more differenciated, more commonly used, less consistently written Tocharian B dialects.[51]

NOTES

1. Bibliotheca Buddhica XII, St.-Pétersbourg, 1910 (repr. 1970).

2. BT VIII, Berlin 1976.

3. A large number of Toch.B words from the Paris collections were communicated by Prof. Dr. W. Couvreur.

4. Part II in Radloff's *Ṭišastvustik* (see n.1).

5. Von Staël-Holstein reconstructs *Dišāṃ Sauvastikam* and translates "Segenswunsch für die Himmelsrichtungen" (p. 93).

6. To von Staël-Holstein it was obvious that the glosses were later additions to the manuscript. This was done by an Uighur who tried to reconstruct certain missing (Prākrit) forms out of names in Uighur script (p. 113 sq.).

7. SkglPAW 1916, p. 397.

8. He quotes:

Uig.	Toch.A	Skt	[Toch.B]
vzampat	wasämpāt	upasaṃpadā	[wasampāt]
pinvat	pintwāt	piṇḍapāta	[pintwāt]
kraža	kāṣāri (kāṣār)	kāṣāya	[kaṣār]
lin pryan	leṃ paryāṃ	layana pariyāṇa	[leṃ paryǎṃ]
strayastriš	strāyastriṃś	trayastriṃśat	[tāpattriś]

9. Wiesbaden 1974[3], §42, p. 58.

10. Asiatica, Fs. F. Weller, Leipzig 1954, p. 161-173.

11. Cf. A. von Gabain, *op. cit.*, p. 167-168; id., *Iranische Elemente im Zentral- und Ostasiatischen Volksglauben*, SO 47 (1977), p. 59.

12. Translates Skt *śīla* "moral conduct" (BT II 1130 *čXšapt y(a)ruqluğ* Skt *Śīlaprabha*), Skt *vrata* "religious practice" (BT II 1132 *čXšaptta turdači* = Skt *Vratasthita*) and Toch.A *osit* "virtue" (TSA 302a6 = Maitr 27 r.15).

13. This influence is obvious in the numerous confessions of lay-disciples and also in the names of Indian gods, bearing Iranian names: *Xormuzd* "Brahma" (Sogd. *Xwrmwzδ*), *Äzrua* "Indra" (Sogd. *'zrw'*) and *Šmnu* "Māra" (Sogd. *šmnw*).

14. Cf. P. Pelliot, *Tokharien et Koutchéen*, JA 224 (1934), p. 64: "Au IX^{e} et au X^{e} siècle, le bouddhisme ouigour doit constituer son canon . . . . On importe donc des manuscrits en 'langue I, dialecte A,' c'est-à-dire en tokharien, et on les traduit en ouigour."

15. Also in Magadhī and Ardhamagadhī, in other Prākrits -o; cf. F. Edgerton, *Nouns of the a-Declension in Sanskrit*, Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 1 (1936), p. 70; R. Pischel, *Comparative Grammar of the Prākrit Languages*, Delhi 1965^{2}, §345, p. 238-39; W. Couvreur, *Houfdzaken van de Tochaarse Klank- en Vormleer*, Leuven 1947, §23ab, p. 17. But G. S. Lane in *The Inflection of Sanskrit Nouns Found in Tocharian Texts*, JAOS 89 (1969), p. 542, n.1 remarks: "there is no connection between the Tocharian and Prākrit phenomena . . . the Tocharian ending -e is merely a matter of 'adapting' to the proper declension."

16. Cf. W. Bang–A. von Gabain, *Analytischer Index zu den fünf ersten Stücken der Türkischen Turfan-Texte*, SBAW 1931, p. 461: "so sind wir uns bewusst, dass das *-i* nicht erst im Munde der Türken aus dem skr. *-a* entstanden ist. Es liegt in diesem Fall wohl Entlehnung über das Tocharische vor."

17. A. von Gabain (ed.), Berlin 1954.

18. Reconstruction of TSA 294b3 = Maitr 7r.28 *Atnakaudani*. Cf. also Toch.B *Kauṇḍiṇye* "Buddha name."

19. *T[rä]puṣaphali[k·]* (H 149.38a4) dvandva-compound. The ending is lost.

20. Reconstruction of TSA 308b3 *[Ci](tra)s(eneṃ)* (Obliq.sg.) = Maitr 89r.3 *Čitrasini*.

21. TSA 256b4 *(Dh)ṛdhirāṣtre* "a Buddha name," not "ruler of the East" as in Uighur.

22. BT III 283 var. *Makišvar* "Indra."

23. Maitr 7r.5 *Vaišarvan* = TSA 294a8 Vaiśravaṃ.

24. *Khibiro (Kimbiri)* Skt *Kumbhīra, Bhomo (Bumi)* Skt *Bhūma* and *Sūpracāro (Supračari)* Skt *Supracāra* (?). The gloss *-ṭṭo* stands over Uig. *Vati* (42a4). *Vati* (42b5) is glossed *Vadi*.

25. The inconsistency of the word endings in the glosses is due, partly to the nature of the Brāhmī alphabet, partly to the inaccuracy of the scribe. This is less frequent in Buddhist texts in Uighur script. In these texts, however, inconsistencies appear rather *in* the words (even in the same text); cf. *čankirmit* (TT X 513) ~ *čankramit* (TT X 518); *trižul* (TT X 358) ~ *držul* (TT X 360).

26. *The Inflection of Sanskrit Nouns Found in Tocharian Texts*, JAOS 89 (1969), p. 543.

27. A comprehensive list in SSS §90, p. 57-58.

28. *MaXišvri* is predominant.

29. Also *MaXamutklayin*, but var. *Mutkalayani* (TT X 422; 423).

30. *Vayširvani* is predominant.

31. Var. *Šutudani*.

32. Var. *Pañcaśikhi* is derived from Skt *Pañcaśikhin*.

33. Var. *Sangadizi*.

34. Var. *Aryavalukitišvri*.

35. *Asuri* is predominant.

36. *Gantarvi* is predominant.

37. Once var. *puruXiti* (U IV B3).

38. Only as adj. in Skt; Toch.B without a context.

39. It is possible that the examples with dropped ending – both occurring only once – are the sg. forms and that for pl. the form in *-e* is used.

40. *-e* is a secondary nominative ending.

41. TSB 22b3. According to E. Sieg in the Glossary (p. 89) "Sakisches Lehnwort? "

42. The ending *-i* is in general use in the tantric texts of BT VII and VIII. In Ṭišastvustik the ending *-a* is predominant. In the other Uighur texts very few examples are extant.

43. "Plant name."

44. Var. *Včirapan*.

45. Var. *Šakimun*.

46. Var. *paramāṃ*.

47. Var. *čkravart*.

48. Var. *Gratakuti, Gratirakut*.

49. Also the more popular Maitreyasamitināṭaka (in Toch.A) is extant in a Turkish version in several manuscripts.

50. *On the interrelationship of the Tocharian Dialects*, in The Ancient Indo-European Dialects, Berkeley, Calif. 1966, 213-233.

51. Monastery bookkeeping and safe-conducts, being the secular part of the Tocharian documents, are always written in Toch.B.

Abbreviations

br.	Brāhmī
BT	Berliner Turfantexte, Berlin
JA	Journal Asiatique, Paris

JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
Maitr	Maitrisimit, I Wiesbaden 1957, II Berlin 1961
SBAW	Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften
SkglPAW	Sitzungsberichte der königlichen Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
Skt	Sanskrit
SO	Studia Orientalia, Helsinki
Sogd.	Sogdian
SSS	E. Sieg–W. Siegling–W. Schulze, *Tocharische Grammatik*, Göttingen 1931
Toch.A	Tocharian A (in lists A)
Toch.B	Tocharian B
TSA	E. Sieg–W. Siegling, *Tocharische Sprachreste (A)*, Berlin–Leipzig, 1921
TSB	E. Sieg–W. Siegling, *Tocharische Sprachreste, Sprache B*, Göttingen 1949, 1953
TT	Türkische Turfantexte
U	Uigurica
Uig.	Uighur
var.	variant
*	Only inflected forms are extant.